

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

MAGALY CAMACHO et al.)
Plaintiffs,) Civil Action No. 02-10428-DPW
v.)
WILLIAM FRANCIS GALVIN,)

in his official capacity as Secretary of the)
Commonwealth of Massachusetts,)
Defendant.)

BLACK POLITICAL TASK FORCE et al.)
Plaintiffs,) Civil Action No. 02-11190-DPW
v.)
WILLIAM FRANCIS GALVIN,)

in his official capacity as Secretary of the)
Commonwealth of Massachusetts,)
Defendant.)

AFFIDAVIT OF RICHARD ENGSTROM

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of
RICHARD L. ENGSTROM, Ph.D.

Camacho, et al v. Galvin, et al
C.A. 02-10428-DPW

I declare the following:

1. My name is Richard L. Engstrom and I am a resident of New Orleans, Louisiana. I am a Research Professor of Political Science and Coordinator of Graduate Studies in the Department of Political Science at the University of New Orleans (UNO), and the Endowed Professor of Africana Studies at UNO. I have served two terms as the Chairperson of the Representation and Electoral Systems Section of the American Political Science Association (1993-1995, 1995-1997) and continue to serve as a member of the Executive Council for that section. A copy of my curriculum vitae is attached to this declaration as Appendix A.

2. I have done extensive research into the relationship between election systems and the ability of minority voters to participate fully in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice. The results of my research have been published in the *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Western Political Quarterly*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Journal of Law and Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, and other journals and books. Three articles authored or co-authored by me were cited with approval in Thornburg v. Gingles, 478 U.S. 30, at 46 n.11, 49 n.15, 53 n.20, 55, and 71 (1986), the Supreme Court decision interpreting amended section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. I am a co-author with Mark A. Rush, of *Fair and*

Effective Representation? Debating Electoral Reform and Minority Rights (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2001).

3. I have also testified as an expert witness in a number of voting rights cases in federal court across the United States. Since 1999 I have testified at trial and/or been deposed in the following cases: Maxwell v. Foster (W.D. La. 1999), Sanders v. Dooly County (M.D. Ga. 2000), Ruiz v. City of Santa Maria (C.D. Ca. 2000), Johnson v. Hamrick (N.D. Ga. 2001), Del Rio v. Perry (200th Dist. Ct. Tx. 2001), Balderas v. State of Texas (E.D. Tx. 2001), Johnson v. Bush (S.D. Flida. 2001), Jepsen v. Vigil-Giron (1st Judicial District Court, County of Santa Fe, NM 2001, 2002), Arizona Minority Coalition for Fair Redistricting v. Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission (Superior Court, County of Maricopa, AZ, 2002), Curry v. Glendening, Court of Appeals of Maryland (2002), Levy v. Miami-Dade Co. (S.D. Flida. 2002), Dillard v. Baldwin Co. (M.D. Ala. 2002), and Prejean v. Foster (M.D. La. 2002), Louisiana House of Representatives v. Ashcroft (D.C. DC 2002), and United States v. Alamosa County (D. Col. 2003).

4. The 2d Suffolk District in the new districting plan for the House of Representatives in Massachusetts consists of portions of Chelsea and all of the Charlestown area of Boston. The district is 32.2 percent Latino in voting age population (VAP) according to the 2000 census. Chelsea is a city that is 43.6 percent Latino in VAP and the Charlestown area is 7.5 percent Latino in VAP. I have analyzed the extent to which the candidate preferences of Latino and non-Latino voters in the 2d Suffolk district, and in Chelsea, have differed in recent elections in which they have been presented with a choice between or among Latino and non-Latino candidates. There is one such election in the Suffolk 2d, the Democratic primary in 2002 for the Middlesex,

Suffolk and Essex state senate district, which includes all of the 2d Suffolk district. The elections in Chelsea that satisfy this criterion were the last three at-large elections for the school committee held in 2001, 1999, and 1997, and the 2001 at-large election for the city council.¹ Given the small presence of Latinos in Charlestown, estimates of Latino voting behavior cannot be derived through precinct-level information. I have been asked to address the candidate preferences of non-Latino voters there in recent elections in which voters have had a choice between or among Latino and non-Latino candidates. These elections are the Democratic primary in 2002 for the state Middlesex, Suffolk, and Essex senate district and the Boston city council election in 2001.

5. I have also been asked to identify the differences in the voter registration and turnout between Latinos and non-Latinos in the 2d Suffolk district and in Chelsea.

6. I am being compensated at a rate of \$200 an hour for my work in this case.

RACIALLY POLARIZED VOTING

7. The data utilized in the analyses of the candidate preferences of Latino and non-Latino voters consist of the number of votes in the precincts within the city cast for each of the various candidates, and both the total number of people receiving ballots and the number of Latinos receiving ballots in each of these precincts for each respective election. The source for the candidates' votes and the total number of people receiving ballots for an election are official election returns, while the source of the number of

¹ Not included are four elections for district seats on the Chelsea city council that involved a choice between Latino and non-Latino candidates. Votes are reported for only two "precincts" in one of the districts with such an election and in only four in the other. These "precincts" also contain only parts of the regular precincts and no data on the group composition of these portions of the precincts are available to be matched to the election returns. This would not provide a sufficient database to analyze these elections.

Latinos receiving ballots is a count, within each precinct, of the number of people with Spanish surnames receiving ballots.

8. In assessing the extent to which the candidate preferences of the Latino voters differed from those of the non-Latino voters in these elections, I have derived estimates of group support for candidates through three different analytic procedures. These include the two methods approved for this purpose by the United States Supreme Court in Thornburg v. Gingles [478 U.S. 30, at 52-53 (1986)], which are ecological regression analysis and homogeneous precinct (or extreme case) analysis. Homogeneous precinct analyses simply report the percentage of the votes a candidate or set of candidates received within the precincts in which over 90 percent of the people receiving ballots was not Latino and within those in which over 90 percent was Latino. Regression analyses provide estimates of the support for the various candidates among both Latino and non-Latino voters based on the votes cast in all of the precincts in an election.² The third methodology I employ is called Ecological Inference (or EI). This is an estimation procedure that also takes into account all of the precincts in which votes are cast that was developed subsequent to Thornburg v. Gingles by Gary King.³

9. The results of these analyses are reported in Tables 1 through 5. These analyses reveal consistent differences in the candidates preferences of Latino and non-

² Correlation coefficients reflecting how consistently the vote for a candidate varies with the relative presence of Latinos in the precincts are reported along with the results of the regression analyses. The correlation coefficient can achieve values ranging from 1.0 to -1.0. A value of 1.0 indicates that as the Latino percentage of voters turning out increases across precincts, there is a perfectly consistent increase in the percentage of the votes received by a designated candidate or group of candidates. A value of -1.0 indicates a perfectly consistent decrease in the votes received. When the statistical probability of a coefficient is less than .05, that coefficient is identified as statistically significant. The correlation coefficients reported in Tables 1 through 5 are statistically significant unless "ns" appears next to the value of the coefficient.

Latino voters. Latinos demonstrate, through their voting behavior, a preference for Latino candidates. This preference is not shared by non-Latino voters.

2d SUFFOLK DISTRICT

10. The election in which all of the voters within the 2d Suffolk district have been presented with a choice between or among Latino and non-Latino candidates was the 2002 Democratic primary for the Middlesex, Suffolk and Essex state senate district. Three candidates competed in this election. One was a Latino, Jarret Barrios. The other two, Carlo DeMaria and Anthony Galluccio, were white. This is a one seat, one vote election. The results for this election, reported in Table 1, provide estimates of the number of Latino and non-Latinos actually voting in this particular contest that voted for the Latino candidate, Mr. Barrios.

11. The correlation between the racial composition of the precincts (measured as the Latino percentage of the voter turnout) and the vote for Mr. Barrios is a statistically significant .749. Both the ecological inference (EI) and regression analyses identify Mr. Barrios as the overwhelming choice of Latino voters in the district. His vote among Latinos is estimated to be 86.1 percent by EI and 95.1 percent by regression. (There are no homogeneous Latino precincts in the district.) He is not the candidate of choice of the non-Latino voters, however. His vote among these voters is estimated to have been 40.0 percent in the EI analysis, 39.0 percent in the regression analysis, and 40.1 in the homogeneous precinct analysis. Mr. Galluccio was the choice of the non-Latino voters. He received a plurality of their votes, 49.2 percent, in the EI analysis, and a majority in the regression and homogeneous precinct analyses, 51.0 and 50.5 percent respectively.

³ This procedure is the subject of Gary King, A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data (Princeton University Press, 1997).

Mr. Barrios did not receive a majority of the overall vote cast within the precincts that make up the current 2d Suffolk district. There were three candidates in this election, however, and Barrios was able to win with a plurality of the votes by a margin of 77 votes over Mr. Galluccio. Barrios received 2,422 votes (45.2 percent) compared to Galluccio's 2,345 (43.7 votes). The two white candidates together received 2,942 votes (54.8 percent).

CHELSEA

12. The candidate preferences of Chelsea voters in the elections in which they have been presented with a choice between or among Latino and non-Latino candidates have been consistently divided along group lines. The results of the analysis of these elections are reported in Tables 2 through 5.

School Committee Election, 2001

13. Chelsea school committee elections are for seven at-large seats. And voters each have up to seven votes to cast. In 2001 ten candidates competed for the seven seats. Two were Latinos, Gabriel Valerio and Karen Pazos. The non-Latino candidates were Elizabeth McBride, Lydia Walata, Morris Seigal, Arthur Bowen, Rosemary Carlisle, James O'Regan, Patricia O'Regan, and an African American, Deborah Washington. Voter registration in Chelsea at the time of this election was 25.3 percent Latino, and turnout for the election, measured by the number of people receiving ballots, was 22.5 percent Latino. The results of the analyses of this election are reported in Table 2. Given that this is a multi-vote, multi-seat election, the estimates reported in the table for this election, as well as in the tables for the other school committee elections, are for

the percentage of voters receiving ballots that voted for each particular candidate. This will reveal the relative placement of candidates within the respective groups of voters.

14. The correlation between the racial composition of the precincts (measured as the Latino percentage of the voter turnout) and the vote for Mr. Valerio is a statistically significant .879, while that for Ms. Pazos is .545, which is not statistically significant. Both the ecological inference (EI) and regression analysis estimate place Mr. Valerio far ahead of all the other candidates in the Latino vote. He receives a vote from an estimated 70.7 percent of the Latinos receiving ballots. The next highest candidates are Ms. Walata with 49.5 percent and Ms. Pazos with 36.1 percent. The regression analysis indicates that Valerio received a vote from 72.1 percent of the Latinos receiving ballots, again far ahead of the other candidates. In the regression analysis Ms. Washington, the African American, finishes second among Latino voters with 36.4 percent, and Ms. Pazos third with 35.4 percent.

15. All three estimation procedures indicate that Mr. Valerio and Ms. Pazos finished last or next to last in the votes cast by non-Latinos in this election. Valerio received a vote from 17.8 percent of the non-Latinos according to EI, 17.4 percent according to regression, and 24.2 based on homogeneous precincts. Support for Ms. Pazos among non-Latinos is estimated to have been 19.8, 20.3, and 23.0 percent through these respective procedures.

School Committee Election, 1999

16. Nine candidates competed for the seven seats on the school committee in 1999. One was a Latino, Michael Bryon Lopez. The others, Anthony Tiro, Morrie Seigal, Elizabeth McBride, Lydia Walata, Rosemary Carlisle, Arthur Bowen, James

O'Regan, and Stephen P. Gandolfo, were white. Turnout for the election, measured by the number of people receiving ballots, was 15.3 percent Latino. The results of the analyses of this election are reported in Table 3.

17. The correlation between the racial composition of the precincts (measured as the Latino percentage of the voter turnout) and the vote for Mr. Lopez is a statistically significant .727. Both the ecological inference (EI) and regression analysis estimate place Mr. Lopez substantially ahead of all the other candidates in the Latino vote. He receives a vote from an estimated 62.0 percent of the Latinos receiving ballots in the EI analysis, and 69.5 percent in the regression analysis. The next highest candidates are Ms. Walata in the EI analysis, with 34.0 percent, and Mr. Bowen in the regression analysis, with 29.9 percent.

18. Mr. Lopez finished last in the non-Latino vote according to all three estimation procedures. His support among non-Latinos is estimated to have been 21.5 percent by EI, 20.1 by regression, and 22.2 through homogeneous precincts.

School Committee Election, 1997

19. Twelve candidates competed for the seven seats on the school committee in 1997. Two were Latinos, Mr. Lopez once again and Magaly Valentin. The others, Anthony Tiro, Elizabeth McBride, Lydia Walata, Morrie Seigal, Rosemary Carlisle, Arthur Bowen, James P. O'Regan, Marlene R. Demko, Eric H. Portnoy, and Wilma M. May, were white. Latino turnout for this election, measured by the number of people receiving ballots, was 13.9 percent. The results of the analyses of this election are reported in Table 4.

20. The correlation between the racial composition of the precincts (measured as the Latino percentage of the voter turnout) and the vote for Ms. Valentin and for Mr. Lopez are a statistically significant .928 and .901 respectively. Both the ecological inference (EI) and regression analyses place Ms. Valentin well ahead of the other candidates, and Mr. Lopez in a decisive second, in the Latino vote. Valentin receives a vote from an estimated 86.1 percent of the Latinos receiving ballots in the EI analysis, and 102.3 percent in the regression analysis. Lopez receives a vote from an estimated 60.2 percent and 61.8 percent, respectively, in these analyses. The next highest candidate is Ms. Walata, with 42.2 in the EI analysis and 39.6 in the regression analysis.

21. Valentin finished last in the non-Latino vote according to all three estimation procedures. Her support among non-Latinos is estimated to have been 9.0 percent by EI, 6.4 by regression, and 12.6 through homogeneous precincts. Mr. Lopez was third from last, with an estimated vote of 12.3, 12.1, and 14.8 percent in these respective analyses.

City Council Election, 2001

22. Chelsea city council elections are for three seats on the council. Voters each have up to three votes to cast. In 2001 five candidates competed for three seats. One was a Latino, Roy Avellaneda. The non-Latino candidates were Paul Nowicki, John O'Brien, William Waxman, and an African American, Leo Robinson. Chelsea at the time of this election was 25.3 percent Latino in voter registration, and turnout, measured by the number of people receiving ballots, was 22.5 percent Latino. The results of the analyses of this election are reported in Table 5. Given that this is also a multi-vote,

multi-seat election, the estimates reported in the table for this election are for the percentage of voters receiving ballots that voted for each particular candidate.

23. The correlation between the racial composition of the precincts (measured as the Latino percentage of the voter turnout) and the vote for Mr. Avellaneda is a statistically significant .700. Both the ecological inference (EI) and regression analysis estimate that Mr. Avellaneda received a vote from a majority of the Latino voters, but his ranking among the candidates differs in these procedures. EI identifies him as the second choice of the Latinos, behind the African American candidate, Mr. Robinson 54.4 percent versus 61.4. Regression identifies him, however, as finishing first among Latino voters with 97.5 percent of their votes. (There is no homogenous Latino precincts in Chelsea.)⁴

24. All three estimation procedures indicate that Mr. Avellaneda did not receive a vote from a majority of the non-Latino voters. His estimated support among these voters is 40.6 percent based on EI, 28.1 percent based on regression, and 42.6 percent based on the homogeneous precinct analysis. He finished third among the five candidates in the EI and homogeneous analyses and fourth in the regression analysis.

CHARLESTOWN

25. Charlestown, as noted above, has a Latino voting age population of only 7.5 percent according to the 2000 Census. Voters in Charlestown have also had opportunities recently to choose between or among Latino and non-Latino candidates.

⁴ The difference in the EI and the regression estimates for Mr. Avellaneda's vote is due to one of the ten precincts, in which the Latino percentage of the turnout was 9.4 percent and the percentage of voters casting a vote for Avellaneda was 56.9. This exceptional precinct has a "contextual effect" in the EI analysis, in which its influence on the estimates is greater than in the regression analysis. This results in a higher estimate of the non-Latino vote and a lower estimate of the Latino vote for Avellaneda in the EI analysis.

This has happened most recently in the Democratic primary in 2002 for the Middlesex, Suffolk, and Essex state senate district and the Boston city council election in 2001.

26. In the 2002 Democratic primary for the state senate seat, Latinos constituted only 2.1 percent of the people receiving ballots in Charlestown. The entire area therefore may be treated as a homogeneously non-Latino area. Mr. Barrios was not the choice of the voters in Charlestown in this election. He received 38.9 percent of the votes cast there. The choice of these voters was Mr. Galluccio, who received 51.8 percent.

27. The Boston city council election in 2001 was an election for four seats in which voters have up to four to cast. A Latino, Felix Arroyo, was one of seven candidates seeking these seats; the other six were white. Latinos constituted only 1.8 percent of those receiving ballots for this election in Charlestown. The entire area may again be considered a homogeneously non-Latino area. Mr. Arroyo received a vote from only 14.9 percent of those receiving ballots, and finished in Charlestown sixth among the seven candidates.

SUMMARY OF ELECTION ANALYSES

28. When they have been offered a choice between Latino and non-Latino candidates, the evidence reveals that Latino voters in the 2d Suffolk district, and in Chelsea, have had a preference, demonstrated by their voting behavior, to be represented by Latino candidates. The voting behavior of non-Latinos demonstrates that they do not share this preference. Nor is such a preference revealed in the voting behavior of the non-Latino voters in Charlestown. In none of the elections analyzed has a majority of the non-Latino voters cast a vote for a Latino candidate. The results of the analyses reported

above therefore reveal a pattern of “polarized voting,” as that concept has been defined by the United States Supreme Court in Thornburg v. Gingles, at 53 n.21.

29. Latinos in this area are politically cohesive and prefer to be represented by people from within their own group. Their opportunity to elect representatives of their choice, therefore, must include the ability to elect Latinos if it is to be considered an opportunity equal to that of non-Latinos. In a single vote, single seat district election, such as a state legislative contest, non-Latino voters in this area can be expected to usually defeat the choices of Latino voters unless there is a sufficient presence of Latinos in the district to overcome this difference in preference.

REAGGREGATION OF THE VOTE

30. The 2d Suffolk district adopted by the state is 32.3 percent Latino in VAP based on the 2000 census. While Mr. Barrios, as noted in paragraph 9 above, did receive a plurality of 77 votes in this three-candidate senate contest in 2002, he did not receive a majority of the votes cast by voters residing in this district. The plaintiffs’ illustrative state house district for this area increases the Latino VAP in the district to 50.7 percent.

31. The 2002 primary for the Middlesex, Suffolk, and Essex senate seat was held in a new configuration of precincts in Chelsea that was created following the 2000 Census. The plaintiffs’ illustrative district contains 11 of these new precincts, and also five precincts in East Boston. Chelsea residents constitute 60.8 percent of the total VAP in plaintiffs’ illustrative district, and 65.6 percent of the Latino VAP. This portion of the district is itself 54.7 percent Latino in VAP. When the votes cast in the Middlesex, Suffolk, and Essex senate election are tabulated for these Chelsea precincts, the result is Mr. Barrios wins a majority of the votes, 53.2 percent. Given that the Latino percentage

of the VAP in the five East Boston precincts in the district is 44.6 percent, it would appear that Mr. Barrios is likely to have won a majority of the votes in the illustrative district. This provides evidence that a Latino candidate supported by Latino voters will have a more reasonable chance to win, should he or she face only one white opponent, in plaintiffs' illustrative district than would be the case in the district adopted by the state.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN VOTER REGISTRATION AND TURNOUT

32. As noted in paragraph 4 above, Chelsea has a voting age population, according to the 2000 census, that is 43.6 percent Latino. Voter registration in Chelsea at the time of the 2001 council and school committee elections, however, was 25.3 percent Latino, 18.3 percentage points lower than registration. Voter turnout in 2001 council and school committee election was even lower, 22.5 percent. This was an increase, however, over the 1999 and 1997 school committee elections, in which turnout was 15.3 and 13.9 percent Latino respectively. Voter registration by Spanish surname is not available for the 2002 Democratic primary in the 2d Suffolk District. As noted above, however, the district had a Latino VAP percentage of 32.3 percent in 2000. Turnout in the 2002 primary in that district was 14.7 percent Latino.

33. The evidence indicates that Latinos in Chelsea have lower rates than non-Latinos of voter registration and voter turnout. Latinos in the 2d Suffolk also turned out at a lower rate than non-Latinos in the 2002 primary.

PARTIAL RESPONSE TO THE "PRELIMINARY REPORT" OF HAROLD W. STANLEY

34. I have reviewed the "Preliminary Report" of Harold W. Stanley in these cases and the following responds to that portion of the report relevant to the Chelsea case.

35. Professor Stanley purports to identify, among the 17 state House of Representatives districts that are wholly within, or contain parts of, the City of Boston, those that provide non-Hispanic black voters “an opportunity to elect candidates of their choice”(para. 103). He identifies six such districts; Districts 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, and 12. He also suggests, but does not actually conclude, that one of these 17 districts, the 15th, likewise provides Latino voters with “an opportunity to elect a candidate of choice” (para. 105).

36. Prof. Stanley further states that the six districts identified as providing these opportunities to non-Hispanic blacks constitute 35 percent of the 17 districts, and that “This percentage is more than proportional to the non-Hispanic black voting age population in the City of Boston of 22 percent” (para. 103). Likewise, he states the one district suggested to provide this opportunity to Latinos constitutes 6 percent of the 17 districts, “a percentage that compares favorably with the 9.5 percent of the citizen voting-age population that is Hispanic in Boston and Chelsea” (para. 105).

37. My first observation of Prof. Stanley’s analysis is that he does not address the concern of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, which is the opportunities that protected minorities have to elect “*representatives of their choice*” within a districting arrangement. Prof. Stanley’s analysis concerns only whether minorities in past elections have elected the candidates of their choice, given the particular set of candidate choices offered in those elections. A candidate preferred from among a fixed field of candidates cannot necessarily be equated with a *representative* of choice. The candidate options presented to voters, of course, are themselves

influenced by the districting arrangements, which determine the demographic composition of the districts.

38. As my previous reports in these cases revealed, African Americans in Boston and Latinos in Chelsea have demonstrated a preference, through their voting behavior, to be represented by people from within their own group. This preference for African American and Latino representatives has not been shared by the non-African American voters in Boston nor the non-Latino voters in Chelsea. Given this, an African American or Latino “opportunity to elect” within a new districting arrangement must include the opportunity to elect representatives from within their own group. In short, the ability of minority voters to be on the winning side of an election held in a district with a majority non-African American or non-Latino electorate, in which none of the candidates, or none of the major candidates, are from within their group, does not demonstrate that the district provides them with an opportunity to elect a *representative* of their choice. Elections involving choices between or among African American and non-African Americans candidates, or Latino and non-Latino candidates, are widely considered to be the most probative in polarized voting analyses because only these types of elections can reveal whether such differences in representational preferences exist among voters. This is the reason that I analyzed elections of this type in Boston and Chelsea in my previous reports in these cases.

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I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and accurate.

Signed and sworn to this 13TH day August, 2003



Richard L. Engstrom

Table 1
State Senate District 2002
2d Suffolk Voters

Estimated Divisions in Candidate Preferences

Kings Ecological Inference
Regression
Homogeneous Precincts

Candidate	Percent Latino Voters	Percent Non-Latino Voters	Correlation Coefficients
Latino Candidate			
Barrios	86.1	39.8	
	95.1	39.9	.749
	---	40.1	

Table 2
Chelsea School Committee 2001

Estimated Divisions in Candidate Preferences

Kings Ecological Inference Regression Homogeneous Precincts			
Candidate	Percent Latino Voters	Percent Non-Latino Voters	Correlation Coefficients
Valerio	70.7	17.8	
	72.1	17.4	.879
	---	24.2	
Walata	49.5	47.8	
	29.3	53.7	-.430(ns)
	---	51.3	
Pazos	36.8	19.8	
	35.4	20.3	.545(ns)
	----	23.0	
Seigal	35.1	47.7	
	27.9	49.1	-.500(ns)
	----	46.6	
Washington	29.3	37.4	
	36.4	35.3	.029(ns)
	----	35.0	
McBride	28.8	56.8	
	16.6	60.3	-.753
	----	54.9	
Bowen	19.5	51.4	
	9.0	54.4	-.740
	----	48.1	
J. O'Regan	18.4	36.9	
	12.2	38.7	-.680
	----	34.3	

Carlisle	15.3	52.3	
	3.1	55.9	.762
	----	49.7	
P. O'Regan	11.7	35.9	
	7.3	37.2	.699
	----	35.0	

Table 3
Chelsea School Committee 1999

Estimated Divisions in Candidate Preferences

Candidate	Kings Ecological Inference Regression Homogeneous Precincts		
	Percent Latino Voters	Percent Non-Latino Voters	Correlation
			Coefficients
Lopez	62.0	21.5	
	69.5	20.1	.727
	---	22.2	
Walata	34.0	50.7	
	18.6	53.5	-.525(ns)
	---	49.4	
Tiro	32.8	56.0	
	20.1	58.3	-.653
	---	54.7	
Bowen	29.4	41.6	
	29.9	41.5	-.370(ns)
	---	39.9	
McBride	27.0	53.6	
	7.5	55.9	-.779
	---	52.1	
Seigal	26.5	53.7	
	13.9	55.9	-.767
	---	52.1	
O'Regan	25.1	39.5	
	17.8	40.8	-.499(ns)
	---	38.2	
Gandolfo	18.6	29.9	
	12.9	31.0	-.501(ns)
	---	29.1	

Carlisle	0.6	50.5	
	-2.3	51.1	.822
	---	46.9	

Table 4
Chelsea School Committee 1997

Estimated Divisions in Candidate Preferences

Kings Ecological Inference Regression Homogeneous Precincts			
Candidate	Percent Latino Voters	Percent Non-Latino Voters	Correlation Coefficients
Valentin	86.1	9.0	
	102.3	6.4	.928
	----	12.6	
Lopez	60.2	12.3	
	61.8	12.1	.901
	----	14.8	
Walata	42.2	47.1	
	39.6	47.6	-.205(as)
	----	47.1	
May	34.4	10.9	
	38.5	10.3	.693
	----	12.1	
Seigal	33.1	46.8	
	30.1	47.3	-.392(as)
	----	46.5	
Tiro	30.5	52.0	
	28.5	52.3	-.466(ns)
	----	51.4	
Portnoy	23.9	22.2	
	23.2	22.4	.037(ns)
	----	22.1	
McBride	19.9	53.1	
	17.1	53.6	-.789
	----	51.6	

Bowen	9.4	31.6	
	11.6	31.3	-.433(ns)
	----	30.4	
Carlisle	8.0	44.6	
	-0.3	46.0	-.673
	----	43.8	
O'Regan	3.8	32.7	
	1.6	33.0	-.704
	----	30.7	
Demko	1.8	27.8	
	-13.0	30.2	-.545(ns)
	----	27.0	

Table 5
Chelsea City Council 2001

Estimated Divisions in Candidate Preferences

Candidate	Kings Ecological Inference Regression Homogeneous Precincts		
	Percent Latino Voters	Percent Non-Latino Voters	Correlation Coefficients
Avellaneda	54.4	40.6	
	97.5	28.1	.700
	----	42.6	
 Robinson	 61.4	 39.4	
	56.1	41.0	.411(ns)
	----	41.4	
 Waxman	 20.2	 21.7	
	8.7	25.0	-.540(ns)
	----	21.2	
 Nowicki	 6.8	 64.2	
	-1.0	66.4	-.880
	----	57.2	
 O'Brien	 9.5	 46.9	
	-1.5	50.1	-.804
	----	45.4	

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APPENDIX A

VITA March, 2003

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PERSONAL AND EMPLOYMENT INFORMATION

Born May 23, 1946. Married to former Carol L. Verheek. Four children: Richard Neal, born 3/10/70; Mark Andrew, born 1/14/73; Brad Alan, born 3/31/77; and Amy Min, born 8/18/84.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of New Orleans, 1971-74; Associate Professor, 1974-1979; Professor, 1979-present; Research Professor, 1987-present.

Chairperson, Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, 1976-1979. Coordinator of Graduate Studies, 1990-1992, 1993-present.

Fulbright-Hays Professor, National Taiwan University and National Chengchi University, and Visiting Research Fellow, Institute of American Culture, Academic Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C., 1981-82.

Fulbright-Hays Professor, University College, Galway, Ireland, 1985-86.

Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Irish Studies, the Queen's University of Belfast, 1990.

David Bruce Fellow, Bruce Centre for American Studies, University of Keele, England, 1993.

Visiting Fellow, School of Politics, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, Australia, 1998.
1

Recipient, UNO Alumni Association's Career Distinction Award for Excellence in Research,
December 1985.

Recipient, George W. Lucas Community Service Award, New Orleans NAACP, 1993.

FORMAL EDUCATION

Ph.D., University of Kentucky, 1971

M.A., University of Kentucky, 1969

A.B., Hope College (Holland, Michigan), 1968.
(recipient of Class of '65 Political Science Award, 1968.)

PRIMARY TEACHING FIELDS

Election Systems, Urban and Minority Politics, Legislative Process, American Politics.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Chair, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association,
1993-95, 95-97. Section Board, 1993-present.

Book review editor, American Review of Politics, 1995-present.

Lecture tour, under sponsorship of United States Information Agency, of Tanzania, Ethiopia,
Kenya, Malawi, and Liberia, January, 1994. Topics include, among others, comparative election
systems, legislatures within democratic regimes, and race and gender in contemporary politics.

Associate Member, Centre for the Study of Irish Elections, University College Galway.

Member, Board of Editors, Public Administration Quarterly 1977- present.

Member, Editorial Board, Journal of Politics, 1988-1993.

Member, Board of Editors, State and Local Government Review, 1988- 1990.

Member, Committee on the Status of Blacks, Southern Political Science Association, 1991-1996.

Member, Committee on the Status of Blacks, Southern Political Science Association, 1991-1996.
Treasurer, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1981 (position resigned during term due to
2

Fulbright Lectureship).

Chair, Harold D. Lasswell Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 1995-1996
(best dissertation in public policy).

Chair, Ted Robinson Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1995-1996
(best research project in minority politics by a graduate student).

Member, Nominating Committees, Southern Political Science Association, 1980; Louisiana Political Science Association, 1981, Study Group on Comparative Representation and Electoral Systems, International Political Science Association, 1988, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association, 1999.

Member, Chastain Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1978. V.O. Key Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1990. Ted Robinson Memorial Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1995, 1996 (chair). Hallett Award Committee, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association, 1999, 2000.

Member, Program Committee (Urban Politics Section), 1976 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Program Committee (Urban Politics Section), 1992 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Program Committee (Representation and Electoral Systems Section), 1994 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Program Committee (Representation and Electoral Systems Section), 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Member, Membership Committee, Southwestern Social Science Association, 1973-74.

Presented papers at meetings of the American Political Science Association, International Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, Southwestern Political Science Association, Louisiana Political Science Association, Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, International Society of Political Psychology, Harvard University Computer Graphics Week, Australian-New Zealand Academy for the Advancement of Science. Formal papers also presented at programs at Tulane University, Sangamon State University, University of Keele (England), and Rice University.

Chaired panels at meetings of the American Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, and Southwestern Political Science Association.

Served as discussant for panels at meetings of the American Political Science Association, the Southern Political Science Association; Southwestern Social Science Association; Louisiana Political Science Association; Institute of American Culture, Academic Sinica (Taiwan).

Reviewed manuscripts for the American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Political Research Quarterly, Polity, Social Science Quarterly, Legislative Studies Quarterly, American Politics Quarterly, Urban Affairs Review, Electoral Studies, National Political Science Review, Women and Politics, Southeastern Political Review, State and Local Government Review, Public Administration Quarterly, American Review of Politics, Presidential Studies Quarterly, and Journal of Policy History, and Howard University Press and Stanford University Press.

Recipient of grant from Pacific Cultural Foundation, Taipei, Taiwan to support project entitled "The Legislative Yuan: A Study of Legislative Adaptation" (1982).

Recipient of grant from private sources, New Orleans, to support a study of mayoral tenure in large American cities (1983).

Recipient of grant from Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, to conduct exit poll of cumulative voting election in Chilton County, Alabama (1992).

Recipient of grants from Louisiana Education Quality Support Fund, Fellowship Funding for Superior Graduate Students, 1992 (1993-1997) \$48,000; 1996 (1997-2001) \$64,000; 1997 (1998-2002) \$48,000; 1998 (1999-2003) \$56,000.

Reviewed grant proposals for National Science Foundation programs in Political Science and Law and Social Sciences, and National Science Foundation graduate fellowship applications for the National Research Council.

Served as mentor in Southern Regional Council's Voting Rights Fellowship Program to Jason F. Kirksey, 1992-1993, and Dr. Olethia Davis, 1993-1994.

COMMUNITY AND UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Consultant, Charter Task Force Committee, New Orleans, 2000. Preparation of Term Limits: A Report to the Charter Task Force Committee, February, 2000.

Interviewed on term limits issue on "Crescent City Close Up," public affairs program on three radio stations, WNOE, KKND, and KUMX, March 19, 2000.

Participant, Roundtable on At-Large Elections for the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), sponsored by Common Cause, the Center for Democracy and Technology, and the Markle Foundation, at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, February 9, 2000.

Member, Board of Directors, Concern International Charities, 1998-present.

Chairperson, Taskforce on Civil Service, Mayor-Elect Ernest Morial's Transition Office (New Orleans), 1977-78.

Member, Graduate Council, UNO, 1975-76, 1994-95.

Member, Research Council, UNO, 1995-97.

Member, International Student Recruitment Committee, UNO, 1993-96.

Chairperson, Search Committee for Vice Chancellor for Research and Graduate Studies and Dean of the Graduate School, UNO, 1987-88.

Chairperson, Search Committee for Graduate Dean, UNO, 1978-79.

Member, University Budget Committee, UNO, 1983-84.

Member, Liberal Arts Advisory Committee, UNO, 1975-76, 1982-84.

Member, Academic Planning Committee, UNO, 1982-1988.

Member, Faculty Council Committee on Faculty Honors, UNO, 1985-1990.

Member, Committee on Research, UNO Self-Study, 1972-73; 1982-83.

Member, Dean's Advisory Committee on Academic Planning, College of Liberal Arts, UNO, 1983-84.

Member, University Senate, UNO, 1975-77; 1980-81; 83-85; 87-91.

Member, Steering Committee, Legal Division, New Orleans Chapter, American Foundation for Negro Affairs, 1977-79.

Service as expert witness in numerous vote dilution cases in federal courts. Employed by the United States Department of Justice, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, NAACP

Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Center for Constitutional Rights, Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund; Native American Rights Fund, and other organizations. Served as court-appointed expert for the remedial portion of Williams v. City of Dallas, United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas, Dallas Division, 1991.

INVITED LECTURES (Since 1986)

1986: McGee College, University of Ulster - "The Reagan Elections: Realignment or Dealignment?" and "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics"

The Queen's University of Belfast - "The Reagan Elections: Realignment or Dealignment?" and "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics"

University of Keele - "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics"

University College Dublin - "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics"
(4/30/86).

University College Galway - "The Reagan Elections: Realignment or Dealignment?"

1987: Southern University - "The Equal Protection Clause and Electoral Reapportionment"
(4/8/87).

APSA Summer Institute for Black Students, Louisiana State
University - "The Political Scientist as Expert Witness" (7/26/87).

NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Conference on Voting Rights, San Antonio, Texas - "Cumulative
and Limited Voting as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution."

1988: College of William and Mary - "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue" and "The Role of
Social Scientists in Voting Rights Litigation"

University of Queensland - "One Vote,, One Value: The U.S. Experience After 25 Years"
(5/24/88).

Griffith University (Brisbane) - "One Vote, One Value: The U.S. Experience After 25 Years"
(5/25/88).

1989: Tulane University - "Frontiers of Voting Rights: Vote Dilution in Judicial Elections"
(3/9/89).

Lamar University - "Voting Rights: A Retrospective" (10/30/89).

Oklahoma State University - "Frontiers of Voting Rights" (November/10/89).

Prairie View A and M University - "Reapportionment and Black Political Power" (11/16/89).

1990: The Queen's University of Belfast-Institute of Irish Studies, "The Irish Election System: Manipulation and Reform" (3/13/90); Department of Politics, "The Reagan Presidency: An Assessment" (3/8/90).

Brookings Institution - "Social Scientists and the Voting Rights Act" (10/19/90).

Lyndon Baines Johnson Library (Austin, Texas) - "The Evolution of the Voting Rights Act of 1965" (10/29/90).

1991: University of Texas at Dallas - "Redistricting the Dallas City Council" (3/8/91).

United States Department of Justice, Voting Section - "Alternative Election Systems" (3/15/91).

Stetson University School of Law - "Alternative Election Systems as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution" (4/27/91).

Norfolk State University - "Election Analyses in Voting Rights Litigation" (6/15/91).

1992: University of Colorado, Summer Workshop in Urban Politics - "Race and Voting in Judicial Elections: New Orleans as a Case Study Setting" (7/9/91).

Harold Washington College, Chicago - "Political Science Research and Testimony in the Miami-Dade County Case" (9/5/92 - not presented to illness).

Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia - "Exit Polls and Voting Rights Litigation" (10/2/92).

1994: Lecture tour of Tanzania, Ethiopia, Malawi, and Liberia for United States Information Agency, January, 1994.

National Conference of State Legislators, Annual Meeting, New Orleans - "Redistricting and the Courts" (7/26/94)

1995: Department of International Politics, Peking University, "Constitutional Law, Comparative Electoral Systems, and the Politics of Race and Gender" (10/17/95).

1997: John D. Lees Memorial Lecture, Keynote Address, 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, (United Kingdom) Political Science Association, Keele, England, "Affirmative

Action: The Election and the Election System" (1/3/97).

Alumni College, College of Liberal Arts, University of New Orleans, "Racial Gerrymandering in the 1990s: The Issues and the Alternatives" (2/1/97).

Commission on Governmental Reorganization, City of New Orleans, "Principles for Governmental Organization" (9/23/97).

Civil Rights Training Institute (Airlie Conference), NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, "Alternative Election Systems in the Post-Shaw Era" (11/8/97).

1998

School of Politics, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, "Racial Gerrymandering in the United States" (4/1/98) and "Election Systems and Minority Representation in the United States: Racial Gerrymandering and Its Aftermath" (5/29/98).

School of Political Science, University of New South Wales, Sydney, "Election Systems and Minority Representation in the United States: Racial Gerrymandering and Its Aftermath" (4/8/98).

Illinois Secretary of State's Commission on Redistricting, Chicago, IL, "Computer Generated Districting Plans: Necessary Conditions and Tie Breaking Criteria" (12/16/98).

2001

Carinthian Institute of Minority Affairs, Villach, Austria, "Spiders, Earmuffs, and the Mark of Zorro: Creating Electoral Opportunities for Minorities in America's Single Member District System" (5/5/01).

Bureau of Governmental Research, New Orleans, LA, "The Mayor: How Many Terms?" (10/10/01).

2002

Pomona College, Claremont, CA, "Spiders, Earmuffs, and the Mark of Zorro: There Must be a Better Way" (3/13/02).

Utah State University, "The Redistricting Thicket: Are There Alternatives?" Bennion Teachers' Workshop (8/9/02).

Utah State University, "Missing the Target: Priorities among Districting Constraints," Redistricting

in the New Millennium: A Lecture Series, (11/26/02).

2003

Florida State University, "Missing the Target: Priorities among Districting Constraints," (1/21/03).

Numerous other presentations before groups such as the Louisiana Municipal Association; New Orleans League of Women Voters; Public Policy Forums at Southern University in Baton Rouge; Louisiana Municipal Clerks Institute; (La.) Black Legislative Caucus Institute; Robert A. Taft Institute of Government Seminars, Southern University; Special Committee on Elective Law and Voter Participation, American Bar Association; Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Law, United States House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary; Institute of American Culture, Academic Sinica (Taiwan), Foundation for Scholarly Exchange (Taiwan), and Tulane University College of Law.

REFERENCES

Dr. Charles Barrilleaux, Department of Political Science, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL
32306 904-644-7643

Dr. Robert E. Darcy, Department of Political Science, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK
74074 405-744-5641

Dr. Charles D. Hadley, Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, New Orleans,
LA 70148 504-280-6456

Dr. Susan Howell, Chair, Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, New
Orleans, LA 70148 504-280-6467

Dr. Michael D. McDonald, Department of Political Science, State University of New York at
Binghamton, Binghamton, NY 13901 607-777-4563

Dr. Jewel Prestage, Benjamin Banneker Honors College, Prairie View A and M University, Prairie
View, TX 77446. 409-857-2916

CURRENT RESEARCH

"Districting by Independent Commissions: Lessons from Australia."

A comparison of voting behavior in actual cumulative voting elections and simulated STV elections in 15 Texas local governmental jurisdictions (with Robert Brischetto).

"The Politics of PR: Electoral Manipulation and Reform in Ireland."

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

Fair and Effective Representation? Debating Electoral Reform and Minority Rights (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001) (with Mark A. Rush).

MONOGRAPHS

Home Rule for Louisiana Parishes (Baton Rouge: Police Jury Association of Louisiana and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1974).

Municipal Home Rule in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Municipal Association and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1974).

Municipal Government Within the 1974 Louisiana Constitution: A Reference Guide for Municipal Officials (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Municipal Association and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1975).

Louisiana Mayor's Handbook (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Municipal Association and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1977), (with Edward Lynch and Konrad Kressley).

Mayoral Tenure in Large American Cities (New Orleans: School of Urban and Regional Studies, University of New Orleans, 1983).

ARTICLES, RESEARCH NOTES, AND BOOK CHAPTERS

"Statutory Restraints on Administrative Lobbying -- 'Legal Fiction'", Journal of Public Law, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1970), 90-103 (with Thomas G. Walker). Reprinted in Dennis Ippolito and Thomas Walker (eds.), Reform and Responsiveness: Readings in American Politics (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1972), pp. 428-438.

"Race and Compliance: Differential Political Socialization," Polity, 3 (Fall 1970), 100-111. Reprinted in Charles S. Bullock, III, and Harrell Rogers, Jr. (eds.), Black Political Attitudes: Implications for Political Support (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 33-44.

"Political Ambitions and the Prosecutorial Office," Journal of Politics, 33 (February 1971), 190-194.

"Life-Style and Fringe Attitudes Toward the Political Integration of Urban Governments," Midwest Journal of Political Science 15 (August 1971), 475-494 (with W.E. Lyons).

"Expectations and Images: A Note on Diffuse Support for Legal Institutions," Law and Society Review, 6 (May 1972), 631-636 (with Michael W. Giles).

"Black Control or Consolidation: The Fringe Response," Social Science Quarterly, 53 (June 1972), 161-167 (with W.E. Lyons).

"Life-Style and Fringe Attitudes Toward the Political Integration of Urban Governments: A Comparison of Survey Findings," American Journal of Political Science, 17 (February 1973), 182-188 (with W. W. E. Lyons).

"Racial Gerrymandering and Southern State Legislative Redistricting: Attorney General Determinations Under the Voting Rights Act," Journal of Public Law, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1973), 37-66 (with Stanley A. Halpin, Jr.).

"Socio-Political Cross Pressures and Attitudes Toward Political Integration of Urban Governments," Journal of Politics, 35 (August 1973), 682-711 (with W.E. Lyons).

"Candidate Attraction to the Politicized Councilmanic Office: A Note on New Orleans," Social Science Quarterly, 55 (March 1975), 975-982 (with James N. Pezant).

"Home Rule in Louisiana - Could This Be The Promised Land?," Louisiana History, 17 (Fall 1976), 431-455.

"Judicial Activism and the Problem of Gerrymandering," in Randall B. Ripley and Grace A. Franklin (eds.), National Government and Public Policy in the United States (Itasca, IL: Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1977), pp. 239-244.

"The Supreme Court and Equi-Populous Gerrymandering: A Remaining Obstacle in the Quest for Fair and Effective Representation," Arizona State Law Journal, Vol. 1976, No. 2 (1977), 277-319. Cited extensively in Karcher v. Daggett, _____ U.S. _____ (1983) (by J. Stevens, concurring, and J. White, dissenting).

"State Centralization Versus Home Rule: A Note on Ambition Theory's Powers Proposition," Western Political Quarterly 30 (June 1977), 288-294 (with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"Pruning Thorns from the Thicket: An Empirical Test of the Existence of Racial Gerrymandering,"
13

Legislative Studies Quarterly, 2 (November 1977) 465-479 (with John K. Wildgen). Cited extensively in Thornburg v. Gingles, _____ U.S. _____ (1986) (by J. Brennan).

"Racial Vote Dilution: Supreme Court Interpretations of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act," Southern University Law Review, 4 (Spring 1978), 139-164.

"The Political Behavior of Lawyers in the Louisiana House of Representatives," Louisiana Law Review 39 (Fall 1978), 43-79 (with Patrick F. O'Connor, Justin J. Green, and Chong Lim Kim).

"Restructuring the Regime: Support for Change Within the Louisiana Constitutional Convention," Polity 11 (Spring 1979), 440-451 with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"The Hale Boggs Gerrymander: Congressional Redistricting, 1969," Louisiana History, 21 (Winter 1980), 59-66.

"Lawyer-Legislators and Support for State Legislative Reform," Journal of Politics, 42 (February 1980), 267-276 (with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"Racial Discrimination in the Electoral Process: The Voting Rights Act and the Vote Dilution Issue," in Robert P. Steed, Lawrence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker, (eds.), Party Politics in the South (New York: Praeger Publishing, 1980), pp. 197-213.

"Spatial Distribution of Partisan Support and the Seats/Votes Relationship," Legislative Studies Quarterly, 5 (August 1980), 423-435 (with John K. Wildgen).

"Computer Graphics and Political Cartography: ASPEX of Gerrymandering," in Computer Mapping Applications in Urban, State, and Federal Government, Plus Computer Graphics in Education, Vol. 16, Harvard Library of Computer Graphics, 1981 Mapping Collection (Cambridge, Mass.: Laboratory for Computer Graphics and Spatial Analysis, Harvard University, 1981), pp. 51-57 (with John K. Wildgen).

"The Election of Blacks to City Councils: Clarifying the Impact of Electoral Arrangements on the Seats/Population Relationship," American Political Science Review, 75 (June 1981), 344-354 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Post-Census Representational Districting: The Supreme Court, 'One Person, One Vote,' and the Gerrymandering Issue," Southern University Law Review, 7 (Spring 1981), 173-226.

"Municipal Government," in James Bolner (ed.), Louisiana Politics: Festival in a Labyrinth (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), pp. 181-219.

"The 1980 Election and the Realignment Thesis: A Note of Caution," American Studies (Mei-kuo-Yen-chiu), 12 (June 1982), 107-132.

"Racial Vote Dilution and the 'New' Equal Protection Clause: City of Mobile v. Bolden," American Studies (Mei-kuo-Yen-chiu) 12 (September 1982), 25-72.

"The Underrepresentation of Blacks on City Councils: Comparing the Structural and Socioeconomic Explanations for South/Non-South Differences," Journal of Politics, 44 (November 1982), 1088-1099 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"The Impact of the 1980 Supplementary Election on Nationalist China's Legislative Yuan," Asian Survey, 24 (April 1984), 447-458 (with Chu Chi-hung).

"The Marginality Hypothesis and the State Legislative Salary Issue," Southeastern Political Review, 13 (Spring 1985), 169-182 (with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"Racial Vote Dilution: The Concept and the Court," in Lorn Foster (ed.), The Voting Rights Act: Consequences and Implications (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1985), pp. 13-43.

"Quantitative Evidence in Vote Dilution Litigation: Political Participation and Polarized Voting," The Urban Lawyer, 17 (Summer 1985), 369-377 (with Michael D. McDonald). Cited in Thornburg v. Gingles, _____ U.S. _____ (1986) (by J. Brennan).

"The Reincarnation of the Intent Standard: Federal Judges and At-Large Election Cases," Howard Law Journal 28 (No 2, 1985), 495-513. Cited in Thornburg v. Gingles, _____ U.S. _____ (1986) (by J. Brennan). Abbreviated version appeared in Focus (June, 1985). (Focus is a monthly publication of the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, D.C.).

"The Effect of At-Large Versus District Elections on Racial Representation in U.S. Municipalities," in Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart (eds.), Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences (New York: Agathon Press, Inc., 1986), pp. 203-225 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Repairing the Crack in New Orleans' Black Vote: VRA's Results Test Nullifies 'Gerrymander,'" Publius 16 (Fall 1986), 109-121. Reprinted in Glenn R. Conrad (ed.), The African American Experience in Louisiana: From Jim Crow to Civil Rights (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, forthcoming).

"Quantitative Evidence in Vote Dilution Litigation, Part II: Minority Coalitions and Multivariate Analysis," Urban Lawyer 19 (Winter 1987), 65-75 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"District Magnitudes and the Election of Women to the Irish Dail," Electoral Studies, 6 (August 15

1987), 123-132.

"The Election of Blacks to Southern City Councils: The Dominant Impact of Electoral Arrangements," in Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker (eds.) Blacks in Southern Politics (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987), pp. 245-258 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Race, Referendums, and Rolloff," Journal of Politics 49 (November 1987), 1081-1092 (with Jim M. Vanderleeuw).

"Definitions, Measurements, and Statistics: Weeding Wildgen's Thicket," Urban Lawyer 20 (Winter 1988), 175-191 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"The Desirability Hypotheses and the Election of Women to City Councils," State and Local Government Review 20 (Winter 1988), 38-40 (with Michael D. McDonald and Bih-Er Chou).

"Black Politics and the Voting Rights Act(s): 1965-1982," in James Lea (ed.), Contemporary Southern Politics: Continuity and Change (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), pp. 83-106.

"Race and Representational Districting: Protections Against Delineational and Institutional Gerrymandering," Comparative State Politics Newsletter 9 (October 1988), 15-24.

"Cumulative Voting as a Remedy for Minority Vote Dilution: The Case of Alamogordo, New Mexico," Journal of Law and Politics 5 (Spring 1989), 469-497 (with Delbert A. Taebel and Richard L. Cole). Reprinted in Roger L. Kemp, (ed.), Local Government Election Practices: A Handbook for Public Officials and Citizens (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1999), 372-391.

"When Blacks Run for Judge: Racial Divisions in the Candidate Preferences of Louisiana Voters," Judicature 73 (August-September 1989), 87-89.

"Detecting Gerrymandering," in Bernard Grofman (ed.), Political Gerrymandering and the Courts (New York: Agathon Press, Inc., 1990), pp. 178-202 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Cumulative Voting in a Municipal Election: A Note on Voter Reactions and Electoral Consequences," Western Political Quarterly, 43 (March 1990), 191-199 (with Richard L. Cole and Delbert A. Taebel).

"Alternative Electoral Systems as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution," Hamline Journal of Public Law and Policy 11 (Spring 1990), 19-29 (with Delbert A. Taebel and Richard L. Cole). Cited in Holder v. Hall, ____ U.S. ____ (1994), (by J. Thomas, concurring).

"Cincinnati's 1988 Proportional Representation Initiative," Electoral Studies 9 (September 1990), 217-225.

"Getting the Numbers Right: A Response to Wildgen," Urban Lawyer 22 (Summer 1990), 495-502.

"Native Americans and Cumulative Voting: The Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux," Social Science Quarterly 72 (June 1991), 388-393 (with Charles J. Barrilleaux).

"Proportional Representation Considered in Cincinnati," Representation 30 (Spring 1991), 3-5.

"Voting for Judges: Race and Roll-Off in Judicial Elections," in William Crotty (ed.), Political Participation and Democratic Politics (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), pp. 171-191 (with Victoria M. Caridas).

"Minority Representation and Councilmanic Election Systems: A Black and Hispanic Comparison," in Anthony Messina, Laurie Rhodebeck, Frederick Wright, and Luis R. Fraga, (eds.), Ethnic and Racial Minorities in Advanced Industrial Democracies, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 127-142 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Alternative Judicial Election Systems: Solving the Minority Vote Dilution Problem," in Wilma Rule and Joseph F. Zimmerman (eds.), United States Electoral Systems: Their Impact on Women and Minorities (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 129-139.

"Modified Multi-Seat Election Systems as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution," Stetson Law Review 21 (Summer 1992), 743-770.

"Councilmanic Redistricting Conflicts: The Dallas Experience," Urban News 6 (Fall 1992), 1, 4-8.

"The Single Transferable Vote: An Alternative Remedy for Minority Vote Dilution," University of San Francisco Law Review 27 (Summer, 1993), 781-813. Excerpt reprinted in Voting and Democracy Report, 1993 (Washington, D.C.: Center for Voting and Democracy, 1993).

"'Enhancing' Factors in At-Large Plurality and Majority Systems: A Reconsideration," Electoral Studies 12 (December 1993), 385-401 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Louisiana," in Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman (eds.), The Quiet Revolution: Minority Voting Rights and Representation in the South (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 103-135, 413-417 (with Stanley A. Halpin, Jean A. Hill, and Victoria M. Caridas-Butterworth).

"The Voting Rights Act: Disfranchisement, Dilution, and Alternative Election Systems," PS:

Political Science and Politics 27 (December 1994), 685-688.

"The 1994 New Orleans Mayoral Election: Racial Divisions Continue," Urban News 9 (Spring 1995), 6-9 (with Willie D. Kirkland).

"Shaw v. Reno and New Election Systems: The Cumulative Voting Alternative," Voting Rights Review (Spring 1995), 10, 12 (with Jason F. Kirksey and Edward Still) [excerpt reprinted in Voting and Democracy Report, 1995 (Washington, D.C.: Center for Voting and Democracy, 1995), 67-68].

"Voting Rights Districts: Debunking the Myths," Campaigns and Elections (April 1995), 24, 46.

"Shaw, Miller, and the Districting Thicket," National Civic Review, 84 (Fall-Winter 1995), 323-336. Reprinted as "The Supreme Court on Redistricting" in Roger L. Kemp, (ed.), Local Government Election Practices: A Handbook for Public Officials and Citizens (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., Inc., 1999), 80-92.

"Local Redistricting Under the Voting Rights Act," Communities and the Voting Rights Act: A Guide to Compliance in These Changing Times (Denver: National Civic League, Inc., 1996), 69-82.

"One Person, Seven Votes: The Cumulative Voting Experience in Chilton County, Alabama," in Anthony Peacock, (ed.), Affirmative Action and Representation: Shaw v. Reno and the Future of Voting Rights (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1997), pp. 285-313 (with Jason Kirksey and Edward Still).

"Limited and Cumulative Voting in Alabama: An Assessment After Two Rounds of Elections," National Political Science Review, Vol. 6 Race and Representation (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 180-191 (with Jason F. Kirksey and Ed Still).

"Cumulative Voting and Latino Representation: Exit Surveys in Fifteen Texas Communities," Social Science Quarterly 78 (December 1997), 973-991 (with Robert R. Brischetto).

"Is Cumulative Voting Too Complex? Evidence from Exit Polls," Stetson Law Review 27 (Winter 1998), 813-833 (with Robert R. Brischetto).

"Affirmative Action and the Politics of Race," in Gillian Peele, Christopher J. Bailey, Bruce Cain, and B. Guy Peters, (eds.), Developments in American Politics 3 (London: MacMillan Press Ltd. and New York: Chatham House Publishers, 1998), pp. 292-306.

"Race and Representational Districting in Louisiana," in Bernard Grofman, (ed.), Race and Redistricting in the 1990s (New York: Agathon Press, 1998), pp. 229-268 (with Jason F. Kirksey).

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